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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

March 1984

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Stephen Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Mary Louise Harmon, Linda Lau, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Karen Flanders.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in February 1984)

AFRICA GENERAL

Belfiglio, Valentine J. "The Soviet Offensive in Southern Africa." Air University Review, July-August 1983, pp. 80-86.

Details terrorist groups in southern Africa which are supported by the Soviet Union. Gives 1982 figures for the number of Soviet, Cuban, and East German troops deployed in the region.

Bowman, Larry W. and Lefebvre, Jeffrey A. "US Strategic Policy in Northeast Africa and the Indian Ocean." Africa Report, November-December 1983, pp. 4-9.

US military activities in Northeast Africa and the Indian Ocean, from Chad to Diego Garcia, are described. The author ties together these initiatives to give a picture of the larger US security strategy that is evolving in the region. The development of the Central Command for Southwest Asia gives the Administration the new ability to augment diplomatic efforts in the region with a military component. But the author also stresses the increased danger of substituting military options for diplomacy.

"The Horn: Changes in the Ogaden." Africa Confidential, 1 February 1984, pp. 4-6.

Reports on recent politico military developments in Ethiopia and Somalia. Provides information on the organization and leaders of various dissident groups. The Western Somali Liberation Front is renewing its activities against the Ethiopian government after a period of quiescence. The article also notes increasing cooperation between Ethiopian insurgent groups.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

"Centrafrique: Cinq Ans Apres. . . (The Central African Republic: Five Years Later)." Jeune Afrique, 15 February 1984, pp. 32-33.

With the closure of the University of Bangui and other measures designed to repress antigovernment activities, things should be reasonably secure in the Central African Republic. However, conditions imposed by the IMF are certain to destabilize the economy. Five years after coming to power, the government of Colonel Andre Kolingba still has not firmly established itself. All this indicates that its survival remains questionable.

CHAD

"Chad: A Country Cut in Two." West Africa, 2 January 1983, pp. 15-16.

The past year has been marked by a deterioration of conditions in Chad and a de facto partition of the country. The events and actors of the past year are

presented in an attempt to determine causes and actions for the present Chad situation.

"Chad: Pride and Prejudice." Africa Confidential, 1 February 1983, pp. 1-4.

An insightful and informative article on evolving conditions in Chad and increasing involvement of French troops. France is the major actor against Libyan and GUNT actions in the north while the national government of Hissene Habre tries to consolidate its control over rebels in the South. Important biographical information on leading military and political personalities from Southern Chad is included.

Mohamed, Abdallah. "Root Causes, Not Personalities." West Africa, 2 January 1984, pp. 16-18.

The Secretary General of the Chadian National Liberation Front (Frolinat), set up in 1966 in rebellion against the Tombalbaye government, presents his views of the current political situation in Chad. Valuable biographical information is provided in his discussion of former and still-existing factions which seek to impact on Chad's future.

"Tchad: La tempete se leve (Chad: The Storm Rises)." Paris Match, 10 February 1984, pp. 24-29.

A two-part article which includes photos of the French pilot killed in an encounter with rebel and/or Libyan troops and an antiaircraft missile battery like the one which destroyed his aircraft. French hopes to diminish involvement and cool down the conflict were dashed, and France deployed troops 100 kilometers further north in response to the attack. Meanwhile, French troops complain that Chad National Government troops have been withdrawn from the north and deployed against rebels in the south.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Essomba, Philippe. "Obiang Nguema: L'integration a la zone franc est en bonne voie (Obiang Nguema: Integration into the Franc Zone is Going Well)." Bingo (Dakar), November 1983, p. 31.

Essomba recently interviewed President Obiang Nguema concerning Equatorial Guinea's entrance into the francophone Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC). Although Equatorial Guinea is a former Spanish colony, it has been admitted into the "French" Union as part of the OAU's 1980 decision to encourage and expand "regional and subregional economic groups." The President discusses some of the problems that must be overcome before integration is complete. He is very optimistic about the long range benefits of joining the UDEAC. In addition, he talks about Equatorial Guinea's relations with Spain and with Gabon.

Fofanah, Foday. "Equatorial Guinea: Foreign Affairs Secretary Sacked." Africa Now, January 1984, p. 22.

Equatorial Guinea's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Apolinar Moiche has been fired from his job and placed under house-arrest for issuing

diplomatic passports to two North Korean citizens. Despite official statements to the contrary, this arrest may be connected to a recent coup attempt in Malabo. Two top officials in the Secretary's department reportedly were also recently placed under arrest, although the specific charges are not publicly known.

Fofanah, Foday. "Equatorial Guinea: Junta on the Rocks." Africa Now, December 1983, p. 18.

The seven-month-old Coordinating Junta of exiled forces opposed to the regime of President Teodoro Obiang Nguema of Equatorial Guinea reportedly has started to crumble. Originally made up of six different political groups, one group has already broken off and another is about to leave. The Junta recently met in Zaragoza, Spain. The Junta's founding Secretary General, Francisco Ela Abeme, was ousted in favor of Ecube Medico. Abeme has accused the Spanish Government of orchestrating his ouster. The Junta is not a serious threat to the Malabo regime, primarily because it lacks financial backing. The author also discusses Equatorial Guinea's relations with Spain, France, Morocco, Gabon, Nigeria, and Cameroon.

ETHIOPIA

Mann, Matt. "Assessing the Revolution." Africa Report, November-December 1983, pp. 20-24.

The author describes in very general terms the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974 and the direction it has taken. The article does not contain new research and provides only a cursory analysis of events.

GHANA

de Bretteville, Irene et al. "Ghana: Retour aux realites (Ghana: Return to Realities)." Jeune Afrique, 21 December 1983, p. 28.

In order to stem a 13-year economic decline, Ghana recently sought substantial financial support from the World Bank. But before the World Bank approved a loan, Ghana had to face some harsh "economic realities," including a 990 percent devaluation of the cedi. In addition, the Accra government has openly expressed dissatisfaction with Libya. According to the newspaper Fraternite Matin, Rawlings recently referred to Libya's Qadhafi as a "divisive element" in Africa. Ghana's Minister of Finance, Kwesi Botchway, discusses some of Ghana's recent economic reforms and objectives.

GUINEA

"Guinea: Family Feuds." Africa Confidential, 15 February 1984, pp. 6-8.

Political control in Guinea is a family affair which pits family factions or clans against each other for favor from patriarch Sekou Toure. Pro-Western and pro-Soviet clans tussle on the eve of the Organization of African States' 1984 conference in Conakry. While power rests with Toure's Malinko ethnic

group, token political posts have been given to members of competing groups. An impotent opposition operates mainly out of France, and internal feuding probably is a much more serious threat than any opposing individuals or groups.

KENYA

"Kenya: Moi's Consolidation." Africa Confidential, 14 December 1983, pp. 1-4.

Sums up political developments in Kenya since the August 1982 coup attempt. Focuses on the changing ethnic representation among top government officials, the role of the armed forces in politics, and the improving relations with Tanzania. Concludes that political tensions have been reduced considerably during the past year.

Swainson, Nicola. "The Politics of Opposition in Kenya." New Zealand International Review, March-April 1983, pp. 6-9.

Swainson looks at the attempted coup of August 1982. She gives numerous examples demonstrating that leftist and nationalist opposition to the government and suppression of such dissent is not a new phenomenon but has been a factor in Kenyan politics since shortly after independence. Kenya's vaunted "political stability" has rested on three conditions: centralizing executive power within the government, distancing the military from politics, and neutralizing political opposition.

NAMIBIA

Norval, Morgan. "32 Battalion." Soldier of Fortune, February 1984, pp. 46-49 and 88-89.

Describes the origin and composition of the 32 Battalion, an elite group within the South Africa Defense Force which is deployed in the operational areas of Namibia.

Norval, Morgan. "SADF's Bushman Battalion." Soldier of Fortune, March 1984, pp. 70-75.

Details the training and use of Bushmen from the Caprivi Strip of South-West Africa by the South African Defense Force as a counterinsurgency unit. The Bushmen have formed the 201 Battalion and are a part of the South-West Africa Territorial Force.

Ya-Otto, John with Gjerstad, Ole and Mercer, Michael. Battlefront Namibia. Lawrence Hill and Co., 1981, 151 pp. Reviewed by Elizabeth S. Landis in Africa Today, 1st & 2nd Quarters, 1983, pp. 89-92.

This autobiography highlights aspects of life in Namibia for Africans and the pressures to join the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO). The author discusses treatment while in prison in South Africa and the type of legal aid he was offered. Also discusses the personal attributes of Sam Nujoma, the leader of SWAPO, and his ability to identify with the struggle of the average person in Namibia.

NIGERIA

Monga, Celestin. "Nigeria: Quand les voisins toussent (Nigeria: When Neighbors Cough)." Jeune Afrique, 18 January 1984, pp. 36-37.

An overview of international African reactions to the 31 December 1983 coup in Nigeria, based on the political axiom: when Nigeria catches a cold, all her neighbors cough. Among those openly opposed to the coup are Senegal, Tanzania, and Kenya. On the other hand, Zimbabwe supported the change in Lagos. Most of francophone West Africa has remained silent. In the case of Cameroon and Ivory Coast, silence is indicative of a continuing domestic debate. Silence in the case of Ghana, Ethiopia, Congo, Upper Volta, and Benin indicates "discreet approval." The OAU also has remained silent "as usual." Chad is very pleased with the change. Hissene Habre believes that the new military government will be more anti-Libyan and anti-GUNT than the Shagari regime. In addition, the new leaders in Lagos appear willing to follow a "more offensive" foreign policy that the former civilian government.

"Nigeria: Buhari's New Cabinet." Africa News, 23 January 1984, pp. 5-6 and 10-11.

An overview of the new Supreme Military Council (SMC) and some of the policies it has adopted since the December 1983 coup. The Council is made up of 11 civilians and 7 soldiers, representing 18 of Nigeria's 19 states. According to the author, "police loyalty to the new government has been called into question" because of the escape from Nigeria of a number of former officeholders, some of whom had been assigned police guards.

"Nigeria: Economic Malaise Triggers Military Takeover." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 December 1983-14 January 1984, pp. 7117-19.

A survey of events leading up to the 31 December 1983 coup in Nigeria. "Nigeria is the first Third World oil country to see a civilian government toppled by the twin effects of the world recession and the oil glut. It may not be the last." The new military leadership is very critical of the gross economic mismanagement which created Nigeria's "riches-to-rags tale." Discusses the implications of Nigeria's \$20 billion debt. Also looks at Nigeria's relations with OPEC and the IMF. Presents a brief overview of the new regime's policies.

"Nigeria: Why the Soldiers Ousted Shagari." Africa News, 9 January 1984, pp. 1-2, 4-5 and 11.

Shortly after assuming power in Lagos, the military government described "the nation's debt, the high cost of staple foods, and the disintegration of health services as the justification for the coup." In addition, the "inept and corrupt" Shagari administration was accused of "leaving Nigeria a beggar nation." The new military government has promised to eradicate corruption and to help raise the standard of living of even "the lowest income earner in the country."

Synge, Richard et al. "Government Faces Pressure to Increase Oil Revenue." Africa Economic Digest, 6 January 1984, pp. 5-7.

Despite the new military government's promise to remain "faithful" to OPEC and OPEC production limits, Nigeria's desperate need for cash may force it unilaterally to cut oil prices and increase production. Oil revenues since 1980 have declined from \$22 billion to \$10 billion. Even the Shagari government reportedly was under considerable domestic pressure "to release Nigeria from the OPEC straitjacket of a 1.3-million-barrel-a-day production ceiling." The authors discuss Nigeria's various alternatives. The problem of oil price and production levels is the first major foreign policy decision facing the new military government.

Synge, Richard et al. "'Economic Ruin' Provokes Coup." Africa Economic Digest, 6 January 1984, pp. 2-4.

A fairly detailed account of the economic reasons behind the 31 December 1983 coup against the Shagari regime. Lists the membership of the Supreme Military Council and the 19 new state governors. The authors state that the speed with which the coup was carried out reflects the lack of domestic support for the Shagari regime. Briefly discusses some of the first policies adopted by the military government.

SIERRA LEONE

Momoh, Eddie. "Sierra Leone: Stevens' Guessing Game." West Africa, 2 January 1984, p. 11.

Two topics dominated conversations in Freetown throughout 1983: first was the state of the country's "hand-to-mouth economy;" second was the country's political future. President Stevens, who in 1982 indicated that he was willing to quit office in favor of a "much younger man," recently announced that he intends to hang on to power "until he is satisfied that the economy is out of the woods and until there are no longer inter-tribal clashes." Since there is little likelihood of improvement in either sphere in the foreseeable future, the future of Sierra Leone is still up in the air. Stevens is showing his advanced age more and more. And the black market is holding its own despite government efforts to curb it. The future is not bright, given the current set of circumstances.

SOUTH AFRICA

Alves, Dora. "The South African Air Force in the Early Eighties." Air University Review, July-August 1983, pp. 72-79.

Discusses the history and present capabilities of the South African Air Force. Examines current and future inventory of air force equipment and the Republic's ability to manufacture aircraft.

Coker, Christopher. "South Africa: A New Military Role in Southern Africa 1968-82." Survival, vol. 25, no. 2 (March-April 1983), pp. 59-67.

An account of South African military actions which concludes with an assessment of United States policy alternatives for the region with a view to countering the Soviet and Cuban presence.

Legum, Colin. "The Destabilization of Southern Africa: A Two-Way Street." SAIS Review, vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer-Fall 1983), pp. 219-25.

Begins with a comparison of the military preparedness and strengths of Israel and South Africa and discusses their role as major powers in their respective regions. Describes South African efforts to counter the attacks of guerrilla forces in Southern Africa by striking against those members of the Frontline States who actively support the efforts of SWAPO and the ANC.

Uhlig, Mark. "The Coming Struggle for Power." New York Review, 2 February 1984, pp. 27-32.

An examination of the African National Congress (ANC), the leading guerrilla organization fighting the apartheid government of South Africa. Describes the historic principles and actions of the ANC and its relations with countries of both the East and West blocs. Examines United States policy alternatives for South Africa.

SUDAN

Collins, Robert O. "Pounds and Piastres: The Beginnings of Economic Development in the Southern Sudan." Journal of Modern African Studies, November 1983, pp. 38-65.

Beginning in 1944, the British attempted to insure that the southern Sudan would not become an economic and political dependency of the north. This effort was not overwhelmingly successful. Nevertheless, little or no attention had been paid to the south previously. The south has had to depend upon government attention since it is an area too remote and too risky for private enterprise.

UGANDA

Prunier, Gerard. "Aide Internationale, Mythe Democratique et Droits de l'homme en Ouganda (International Aid, the Democratic Myth and Human Rights in Uganda)." Politique Africaine, September 1983, pp. 30-40.

Prunier contends that Obote has been successful in obtaining large amounts of Western financial aid by giving the appearance of respecting the values of democracy and human rights and by announcing economic policies favorable to foreign investors. However, violations of human and political rights are at least as extensive today as they were under Idi Amin--Obote's tyranny is merely more discreet. One way Obote has managed to project a positive image is by eliminating almost all foreign news reporting on Uganda except for

stories on its economic progress. As a result, reporting on Uganda in the Western press has dwindled dramatically. The author cites statistics on Le Monde's reporting to illustrate this. Prunier calls on Western governments to stop turning a blind eye to the atrocities occurring under Obote. He rejects the claim that Western governments are powerless to influence the situation. He believes they can use financial aid as a tool of persuasion--after all, their financial aid was able to turn Obote around from an ardent socialist to an advocate of free enterprise and foreign investment in Uganda.

ZIMBABWE

Barrel, Howard. "Zimbabwe: Which Way Mugabe?" New African, January 1984, pp. 12-15.

Examines recent domestic events in Zimbabwe, particularly military operations in Matabeleland and the arrest of women in Harare. Focuses on the decisions and actions of the government as Robert Mugabe is blamed for failures in policy initiatives.